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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances.

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764 had been made at uniformity of arrangement, each grave seemed to have been dug at the choice of the persons digging. All were very much neglected and overgrown, but the new cemeteries which are now to be found in connexion with most villages where there is a resident mission teacher are kept tidy under his supervision. Graves in these new cemeteries are marked with roughly carved wooden crosses. Graves in the pagan graveyards were marked with cordyline plants, or, most often, not marked at all, though the relatives knew where they were and pointed them out to me. They [152] did not mind going there in daylight, but only very special circumstances would induce them to go after dark.

No distinction was made in the graves of women and children, and no special portion of the graveyard was assigned to them. [766] Children who die at birth or very shortly after are still buried in the house; for them there is no wailing. Otherwise, children are wailed for and buried in just the same manner as adults. Wailing is not confined to the village in which the person died. One evening the sound arose from a house near my own. Knowing of no death in the village, I made inquiries and was told that news had just been received of the death of Kiots, the sister of Marotē's mother, at Ieta. The wailing went on for a short time only, but next evening it was repeated; the reason then given was 'because Marotē and Peaē are sorry again about their "mother!".'

[762] Persons who die by suicide are, if their bodies can be recovered, wailed for and buried just like any other dead, and I did not learn that any special treatment was thought to be meted out to them in the after-world. Unfortunately, I omitted to ascertain what was thought to be the fate of persons whose bodies were not available for funerary rites.

CANNIBALISM

266 766 In the olden days, under certain circumstances, the bodies of the dead were eaten. The bones of such victims were afterwards buried without ceremony, with the exception of the jaw, which was cleaned and hung up in the 'men's house'.[1] There seemed to be no fear of the *urar* of such people returning to plague those who had eaten them.

266 721 Like many, probably most, of the groups who practise, or used

[1] The jaws of pigs eaten on ceremonial occasions are now substituted for human jaws.

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to practise, cannibalism, these people never ate human flesh merely to appease hunger, or as a relish to taro, as other flesh food is eaten. There must always be some sanction behind the consumption of man. With these natives, it was done as an insult or as a punishment, or as a necessary adjunct to certain ceremonies, and the usual victims were enemies taken in war. The distinction is perhaps a subtle one, since those who have eaten human flesh freely admit that they enjoyed it, and although raids seem to have taken place for a variety of reasons, it seems not unlikely that some excuse might readily be found for undertaking one when the desire for a taste of human flesh became strong. It will be remembered that the staple diet of these folk is vegetarian, and that, at the present time, their greatest luxury in the way of food is pigmeat.

One raid was certain to be reciprocated by another, and thus was started a chain of retaliatory raids, first by one side and then by the other, till one or other party tired of it and offered ceremonial currency to compound the feud. They would then say to the other party: 'All right, let us finish now, let us be good friends now. We will come down to see you, and you will come up on top (i.e. into the mountains) to our place.' It will be noted that it is the mountain people who are represented as being the side to ask for a cessation of hostilities, the account coming from the people of a coastal village.

Pinari, *tsunaun* of Kurtatchi, told me the following details of a raid in which he had taken part. He could give me no idea how long ago it was.

The people of Gogoiv (a village on Buka) killed two men, Waripa, a *tsunaun*, and another man who was a commoner, while they were shooting fish from a canoe. Both men belonged to Tiop. The rest of the people were away at one of the *upi* ceremonies. The people of Tiop asked us to help avenge them. A *tsunaun* from Tabut came with me, and we went and raided Gogoiv and killed a man, and took him in a canoe to Tiop, and we all ate him there in revenge for Waripa.

An account of the cooking of a prisoner was given me by an old man at Saposa who had himself taken part in such affairs.

People used to go out to fight, they would come to a village, they fight, they set fire to the village at night. They see a fine man, they kill him, they take him home and hang him up to a tree. They put paint on him and ornamental plants, they comb his hair. He stinks, but that does not matter, they eat him just the same, the fire makes him good. He stays

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

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159 No. 81. Nawi (adolescent girl).

I dreamed Kiots and I went to the taro garden, and we speared a wild pig which was eating the taro, and we held the pig fast, and we cooked it and ate it, and ate some taro too, and we ate, and ate, and ate, and ate. Then we went to work and planted taro, and we chased another pig, and the pig ran away, and I said: 'Oh, Kiots, the pig is over there.' Then I climbed a tree and got a stick for a spear, and threw it at the pig and the pig ran away. Then we looked at the taro, and it was all spoilt, the pig had eaten it all. Then we went back to the village, and went to the shore, and saw a schooner sailing near the shore. Then we went back to the village and cooked the pig. This is a good dream, because we ate pig.

No. 2. Baki (aged male).

I dreamed I and some other men were paddling in a *mon* (plank canoe) and we went ashore and cut up a pig; then we went and swam in the water; then we came ashore again and sat on the beach. This is a good dream, because we had the pig to eat.

(*e*) *Fighting, beating, or being beaten.*

159 War, which used to be an integral part of the lives of these people, ● 721 has now become, as far as the coastal people are concerned, a thing 578 of the past, owing to the pressure brought to bear by the Government. The loss of this source of excitement must have influenced the dream content. Sakwan, a man about forty-five, of the island of Pororan, said: 'Our dreams are not now the same as they used to be in the olden days when we dreamed of fighting and of feasting.' This prohibition has not yet become operative in the mountainous centre of Bougainville, during a brief visit to which area three out of the five dreams dealing with killing were obtained. But quarrels leading to violence between individuals are common enough, and so is the beating of a woman by her husband, which figures in two of the dreams here listed. In the fourteen dreams in this category the dreamer appears as aggressor in two, as sufferer in nine, and as spectator in three. Examples are the following:

159 No. 12. Malias (adult male from the mountain district of Konua).

I dreamed about a man named Kariko, who wanted to kill people. He said to me: 'Come on, let us go and kill all the people here.'

No. 17. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed about a fight; another man was angry with me. I went back

of white colonists do not exist in Bougainville even today, but since the island affords great stretches of the finest soil, and in addition favorable sites for anchoring and landing, the time is certainly not far off when tropical agriculture in modern form will enter there, too, and then even the last vestiges of traditional culture will come to a rapid end as has been the case everywhere else in the South Sea Islands.

Stanley entitled his travel book about Africa Through the Dark Continent, but a depiction of Bougainville that is exhaustive in every respect could justifiably bear the title: "From the Darkest Part of a Dark Island World."

[4] Character of the People

Older reports as a rule give an incorrect portrayal of the character of the islanders; there was a general tendency to consider them among the wildest of the South Sea inhabitants. It must be conceded that on first acquaintance they do not inspire much confidence; the naked almost black figures with their sparkling eyes, lively gesticulation, and the excellent arms they always have at hand on land as well as at sea, necessarily arouse distrust -- all the more so since their former numerous warlike encounters with the whites and their reputation of being vicious cannibals seem to confirm the preconceived notion.

I will say no more about conflicts with the whites. In most cases the natives were acting defensively, and wherever a real attack upon white men can be proved, the reason must frequently enough be regarded as an act of vengeance for some preceding injustice. Indeed it cannot be denied that there are among the islanders also bad individuals who, for the sake of profit and in order to acquire the valuable goods of the whites more easily, do not hesitate to apply force; but cases of this sort occur everywhere in the world.

As workers and servants the islanders are loyal and reliable; they are not particularly intelligent and at the beginning of their service require much training before they comprehend what they have to do, but once they have comprehended this, then one can rely on them to do their duty without constant supervision. At home they do not work excessively hard, for they have no nose for profit or accumulating material possessions; however, they always have sufficient food and keep their plantations in good order; they see to it that they have good dwellings and take great pains in the construction of their boats,